1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price
438 of beef. It is said not to be liked very well.
262 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacápu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

24] Cherán is primarily an agricultural village.
[463] Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Cilantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.
The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]
- Sewing machine
- 3 or 4 hat blocks
- Wooden paddle for blocking
- Smooth stone for blocking
- Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
- Iron punch for ventilators
- Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
[462] or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

296 tensive labor, although the weavers usually do some housework also.

CLOTHING AND DRESS HABITS

294 463 *Clothing manufacture.*—Many persons make their own clothes, but a number of persons make clothes for sale or on order. Even men may make clothes for sale if the family owns a sewing machine. For example, one storekeeper makes men's cotton trousers (*calzones*) and men's shirts in his spare time, selling them in the store. His wife also sews but less frequently. Many storekeepers have one or more sewing machines—the largest number observed was three—which are rented to women who come to the store to sew. One ambitious family (whose sons were sent to Morelia to school) made much of the family income from the labor of mother and daughters. Most of the sewing is durable but not skilled. No one in the town knows how to fit a garment, and as standards approach those of the Mestizos, more and more people buy ready-made garments from outside in stores, markets, or in Mestizo towns.

[511] [177] [439]

Most of the "tailors" are specialists, making only one type of garment. One woman makes only men's cotton trousers. She makes six pairs a day, double-stitched. Garments for weddings are single-stitched. The cloth is provided and cut by the customer. This woman works only intermittently on order. Trousers require about 2½ m. of cloth. Men's shirts require about the same amount of material but cost more for sewing. One woman makes only aprons, while another makes only children's garments.

291 177 *Men's dress.*—Influence of the Mestizo world is strongly evident in men's dress. Yet, aside from the priest, no resident of the town dresses completely *catrin* (i.e., in city style) in Cherán, and only rarely do individuals going to Uruapan or some other town wear city dress. Many men, it is true, commonly wear one or more garments of "town" style. Coats, sweaters, and jackets are owned by many. Tailored woolen trousers, on the other hand, are rare, while almost none own complete suits. Ordinarily, the cotton trousers of the Mestizo countryman rather than woolen trousers replace the white *calzones* of the Indian.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

283 *Rope and twine.*—One man makes kite strings during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas*. A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

303 *Hair brushes.*—One family of four makes its entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja*. The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

532 *Masks.*—One family makes wooden masks to order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are [438] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

1:Beals E-S (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

[347] All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal. [651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal. [437] Individual sales are usually small, and the portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

256 *Nixtamal mills.*—Some seven or eight *nixtamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

[p.61]

462 They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

463 The bulk of the population of Cherán falls into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor [464] supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages, 465 especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to $1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

462 Bearing in mind that most men have some 463 land, the list of occupations in Cherán is extensive, as shown in the following tabulation:

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 Hat making (few)
Plank making
462 Shake making
Cutting railroad ties
Charcoal burning
Blanket weaving (few)
Broom-handle making (rare)
Gathering *raiz de paja* (few)
Wild-honey collecting (few)
Bee keeping (few—one woman)
Baking bread (one making *pan dulce*)
Ice cream making (one)
Brickmaking and tilemaking (rare)
Carpentry (few)
Wood turning (rare)
Blacksmithing (rare)
Masonry (few)
Brush making (few)
Painting and plastering (rare)
Fireworks making (one)
Tailoring
Twine making (few)

Women

Embroidering
Belt weaving (few)
Paper-flower making (rare)
Herb gathering (rare)
Gleaning
Cloth weaving (one)
Baking bread
Tailoring
Mat making (rare)

DISTRIBUTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Storekeeping
Trading
Selling at markets
Butchering
Transport

Women

Storekeeping (helpers)
Local food selling
Selling at markets

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Grain threshing
Operating *nixtamal* mills
Barbering (few)
School teaching (few)
Billiard-hall operation (two)
Marriage managing (few)
Water carrying for pay (rare)
All political offices[1]
All formal church offices[1]
All public works[1]
Mayordomias[1]
Musician
Rezadores (men who pray)

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 Ritual dancing[1]
462 Sorcery

Women

Midwifery
Domestic service (rare)
Curing
School teaching (rare)
Minor church services[1]
Ritual dancing (pastorela only[1])
Sorcery

[1] Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole
464 was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensitive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

465 Information about day laborers indicated a return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about $1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning $25 a day.[21]

464 Unemployment for laborers usually comes about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay $2.50 a
[465] dozen for building stones delivered at his store
[435] for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

[21] In Angáhuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.93a]

THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in *barrio*—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
18–30 (17–30 for *barrio* III)	29	16	62	86	193
31–40	24	13	85	35	157
41–50	17	15	62	52	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	12	28	15	60
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	2	6	5	1	14
Total	101	72	267	227	647
[212] Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
Able to read	25	40	51	29	145
Occupation:					
Agriculturalist	73	47	124	63	307
● [463] Laborer	6	5	119	133	263
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker	.....	2	.....	1	3
Mason	1	.....	3	2	6
Carpenter	2	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2	.....	.....	3
Musician	1	1	2	.....	4
Maestro	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Shoemaker	.....	1	6	1	8
Tilemaker	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 217 Additional incomplete but interesting data on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 54).

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

527 While all the occupations in the town are represented in the fiesta, only the more important ones take official part. These are the *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

527 Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey gatherers take the two images of their patron 237 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V. Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.139] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 621 [565] fitted into the class system of colonial Mexico.

Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 621 423 The other main type of social unit in rural Mexico was the privately owned estate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, i. e. "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 621 423 The colonial village community was the primary economic unit, to some extent self-sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the cult and the support of the Church.[9]

175 [241] [463] [438] Agriculture was the economic basis of most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 556 For various reasons differences in wealth came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-5.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.186] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

goes on because, as Beals says, "The Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian problem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the economy of many Tarascan villages, and changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts. Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)* are cheaper than the locally made serape, and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 69.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City
and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
[323] tery has recently been selling to Mexico
City and even United States curio shops.[62]

178 The declining crafts are among those
463 producing basic necessities, while the
growing ones are luxury crafts depending
in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has pro-
duced the conflicts during the revolution-
ary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handi-
crafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and
Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
(1877-1911), characterized by the economic
668 development of the country, a period of
unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mex-
423 ican Revolution' are usually understood
both the armed conflict from approxi-
mately 1910 to 1920 and the various gov-
ernments and their policies from the be-
ginning of the struggle down to the pres-
ent time. The Mexican Revolution is thus
a very complex social transformation
which includes all aspects of Mexican life.
I shall discuss only those aspects of the
agrarian revolution and reforms which
concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

351/335 are connected by a piece of wood at top and bottom. Almost invariably they have a small gable roof (úmutakata in Angahuan, the name of the storehouses on posts already described). Two pieces are supported by the gate posts at right angles to the gate. The ends of these are connected with two pieces which support rafters. Construction is like that of a gabled house roof in miniature. Sometimes a light floor is laid, and the space is used to store maize husks for tamales or some similar, not very valuable, material. The gate roofs keep the gate from rotting or warping from rain. They are an inevitable part of the Tarascan landscape and may be seen sometimes in open fields over the entrance to the field even though there be no gate (pls. 3, right; 7, lower, left). In the Lake region, they are roofed with tile, a practice sometimes seen elsewhere (pl. 7, middle, right).

In some cases, however, simpler constructions are used. The gate may simply be upright planks resting in a groove at the bottom and held by cord loops at the top. In the fields, gates are often made by planting two posts with holes chopped in each to receive bars. Such gates are sometimes seen in town also. They are called "*agújas*" in Cherán, but in Parícutin they are called jarášurita.

[continued on p. 20b]

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 While a high degree of specialization is characteristic of the Tarascans in comparison with most primitive people, such a term is always relative. Actually almost any man in Cherán is first of all a farmer; only landless men, which means also poor men, are not farmers. Probably most Cherán men are fairly skilled with an ax, sufficiently so to do a reasonably competent job felling a tree, trimming poles, cutting fence posts or ties, and hewing out rough timbers. On the other hand, to make a living at woodworking occupations requires more skill and speed than would be possessed by many men. In the same way, any man might do a fair job of building a dry-stone field wall, but he would not be as fast as a specialist, nor could he put up a masonry wall or lay adobe bricks in a fashion that would meet Cherán standards of fitness. Nevertheless, these facts make an absolutely correct assessment of the

[p. 20a] [continued bottom of page 20b]

343 Sheds are usually built leaning against a house
335 or wall. They consist ordinarily of only a sloping roof of shakes supported by a crude home-made framework. The upper end of the roof rests against the house or wall, the lower end is supported by posts. A great variety of crudely built structures is found, serving for hen houses, barns, storage of fodder, or toilets. Crude roofs called "*pestaña*" are also built over entrances to houses and kitchens (pl. 2, upper).

343 Many houses have pigpens made of poles.
231 These often have an entrance directly from the street which can be closed from inside. As a rule pigs roam the streets during the day. At night they must be penned carefully, especially in the outskirts of town. Otherwise, coyotes may kill them.

354 In some house yards there are large domed
[427] ovens, used primarily for making bread. They are often rented to bakers who do not have ovens. The construction is mostly of adobe but sometimes stone is used about the entrance and in foundations. A rough shake roof supported by poles protects the oven from the rain.

343 Temporary shades (ónjetarakua) are built of poles and covered with branches and grass for use in weddings and fiestas.

SPECIALIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

463 distribution of skills difficult. The following list of specialists, then, merely gives those who make a major part of their living from the specialty indicated. In some cases, the individuals no doubt get all their living from their professional occupation; in others, they either farm themselves, do farm work, or are employing farmers.

Carpenters	9
Masons	5
Brick and tile makers	2

The above represents a fairly accurate census of those men in Cherán who have special skills and who would be hired for work in their field by others if possible. To put it another way, the average man would recognize that one of these specialists would do a more competent and finished job than he could do himself; consequently, any ordinary man would make some sacrifices to employ these

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

463 specialists. The situation in other Sierra towns is similar. In the Lake region as well, nearly every one can make adobes and erect a house of sorts, but good work requires a specialist.

000 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually em-

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 No complete survey of construction types has yet been made but some general data are available.
184 It is clear that many fundamental features of the architecture extend through not only large areas of the Tarascan country but also into adjoining regions settled by Mestizos. The type of masonry construction with tile or shake roofs and wide overhanging eaves extends far beyond the limits of Tarascan settlement, and the wide eaves are characteristic of even such a town as Morelia, the State capitol. In general, the higher, more heavily forested areas from at least as far west as Tingüindin to near Morelia show a predominance of wooden construction, usually with shake roofs. The lower and, in some instances, drier regions show a predominance of masonry-adobe structures with tile roofs and wide eaves. In some cases, shakes replace tile as roofing material. Distribution of the wide-eaved masonry-adobe style extends beyond the present Tarascan boundaries. It ends sharply west of Zamora, and it disappears east of Morelia.

The following tabulation shows the present

[P. 33-a]

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[804] [Text continues top of P. 33b]

[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta*, meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga*, or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas*. The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 224 gathering, although now of small importance, is 222 still practiced throughout the area. Apart from ● 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[Text continues bottom P. 33b]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56b]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

438 Among most people lacking modern transporta-
472 tion facilities and mass production techniques,
463 cottage industries, often termed "native crafts," are characteristic of the local economy. Owing to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population [123] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agave fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 Like so many of his material culture elements,
463 the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[123] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 3.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

177 463 aboriginal and European products and techniques. Most of his modern handicrafts are based on pre-Conquest industries (ceramics; wood products; leathercrafts; metal work in copper; weaving of cotton, agave fiber, stalks of tule). Except in a few pueblos, European techniques are now used in making pottery. In modern woodwork the adz and the lathe are probably European and cabinet work is practiced entirely with Old World techniques. Cattle hide and horse hide have replaced deerskin in leathercrafts, but the tanning techniques used are possibly aboriginal. Although the ancient belt loom is used for most cotton and agave weaving, for weaving wool the European hand loom is employed. Sleeping mats (*petates*) are woven of tule as they were 500 years ago; hat making, on the other hand, is completely European. In regard to metals, European techniques have replaced native methods, and iron has of course been introduced. Spanish friars and master craftsmen of the 16th century did indeed teach Tarascans many new techniques, but in most instances such were applied to long-established native industries.

[412] [281] [286] [325]

[P. 57-c]

438

463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1759
Acachuén	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ahuiran	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Tablecloths. Woodwork: Violins. Turned work.	Weaving (cotton): Mantas. Belts. Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings of cotton thread.	Knitting: Men's cotton stockings.
Angahuan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Arantepacua	Capotes. Brooms.	(?)	(?)	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Aranza	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(Depopulated.)
Arocutin	None.	(?)	(?)	Potato weaving.
Atapan	None.	None.	None.	None.
Azajo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.

See footnote at end of table.

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1948	1941	1922	1780
Cahcontzin (Parisuitin)	Weaving (cotton): Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).	(?)	Weaving (cotton).
Capacuaro	Woodwork: Drum handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts.	Woodwork: Bows.	(?)	Woodwork: Bows.
Carapan	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Charapan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf.	Weaving (cotton). Woodwork: Rosaries. Chocolate beaters.	Woodwork: Rosaries. Malacates.	Weaving (cotton). Woodwork: Rosaries.
Charin	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Napkins. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf. Embroidery work.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork (1742).
Charanbaretiro	None.	None.	None.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Chilchota	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Cocucho	Pottery.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries.	Woodwork: Rosaries.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries. Other turned work. Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (1742).
Cuanio	Leatherwork: Shoes. Belts. Saddle leather. Pottery.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Cumanja	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Conajos, Los (Paranguitiro).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).
Curupo	Woodwork: Cabinetmaking. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Bows. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Phonetic molds. Bows.	Woodwork: Bows.
Cuanjo	Woodwork: Cabinet work: Bows.	Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work. Bows.

See footnote at end of table.

[P. 59]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1933	1760
Cocucho—Continued	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.			
Cumachuato	Woodwork: Bateas. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars. Woodwork (1762): Saddle frames.
Erongaricuaro	Potato weaving.	(?)	Potato weaving.	(?)
Huiramba	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ichán	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tinguindín	Potato weaving. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Janitzio	Netting. Weaving (cotton): Men's belts.	(?)	(?)	Netting.
Jarácuaro	Hat making. Palm leaf. Weaving. Belts. Adobe making.	Potato weaving.	(?)	Potato weaving.
La Pamilla	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Naranjan	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Cloth. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Leatherwork: Saddles. Belts.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Saddles.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Shoes. Saddles.
Naranja	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Nayarao	Potato weaving.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nocutzepo	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Puru	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Hat making: Felt.	Hat making.	Hat making: Felt.
Quiroga	Clay toys.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Weaving (cotton)
Tzintzimeo	Woodwork: Spoons. Bateas. Hat making: Wheat straw. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).

[1] See footnote at end of table.

[P. 60]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1948	1941	1822	1769
Paracho	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Turned work. Cabinet work. Toys. Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work. Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.
Patamban	Pottery. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Pottery.	Pottery.
Pichátaro	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Rebozos. Woodwork: Cabinet work. Broom handles. Batons. Hat making: Palm leaf. Petate weaving.	Weaving (agave). Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work.
Pomacuaro	None.	Weaving (cotton). Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings.	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (?).
Pómaro	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Quiroga	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Capotas.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Quiroga	Woodwork: Batons. Turned work. Chairs.	(?)	Woodwork: Batons. Bones.	Woodwork: Batons. Woodwork (1742): Batons. Bones.
San Andrés	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
San Angel	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Santa Fé	Pottery.	(?)	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Batons (painted). Bones (painted). Petate weaving.
San Felipe	Ironwork. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Ironwork.	Ironwork.	Ironwork (also in 1944).
San Jerónimo	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Belts. Blankets.	(?)	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving. Woodwork: Bones.

[1] See footnote at end of table.

[P. 61]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1945	1941	1932	1760
San José	Pottery.	(?)	Leather work: Tanning. Woodwork: Saddle frames.	(?)
San Lorenzo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Santa Tunda	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Sevina	Woodwork: Bateas. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Rhabas.	Woodwork: Rhabas.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Sinsiahua	None.	None.	None.	Weaving (cotton).
Sirio	Woodwork: Spoons. Bateas.	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)
Soguaso	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tacámaro	Petate weaving. Capote making.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
Tanaco	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (ixtle): Morrales. Ayates.	None.	(?)	(?) Pottery (1742). Woodworking (1742). Saddle frames.
Tanaquillo	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Taramuato	Weaving (ixtle): Morrales. Ayates. Costales. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Rope making.	(?)	(?)	Weaving (ixtle).
Tarejero	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Turumando	Hat making: Wheat straw. Palm leaf. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Leatherwork: Shoes.	(?)
Trinchero	Pottery: (Hat making ceased in 1938.)	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Tzimaro	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Masks.	(?)	(?)	None.
Tzintzuntzan	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)

See footnote at end of table

[P. 62-a]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1841	1822	1780
Turicuaro	Stonework: Metates. Woodwork: Bateas. Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Capote making.	Stonework: Metates.	Stonework: Metates.	(?)
Tzintzuntzan	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.
Urapicho	Hat making: Palm leaf.	None.	None (?).	(?) Woodwork (1743): Saddle frames.
Uricho	Potato weaving.	(?)	(?)	Potato weaving.
Zacán	(?)	Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (cotton): Mantas.	(?) Woodwork (1944): Bateas. Rope making (1944).
Zirosto	Woodwork: Bateas (disappeared since volcano). Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Pinocillo molds. Weaving (cotton)	Woodwork: Bateas (painted).	Woodwork: Bateas. Woodwork (1944): Bateas. Rope making (1944).

[1] Sources: 1944, Basalenque (1660); 1743, Villaseñor y Sánchez (1746–48); 1780, AGN, Historia, vol. 73; 1822, Martínez de Lejarza (1824); 1841, AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 704, Memorias Estadísticas, 1841; 1946, Field observation.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.626]

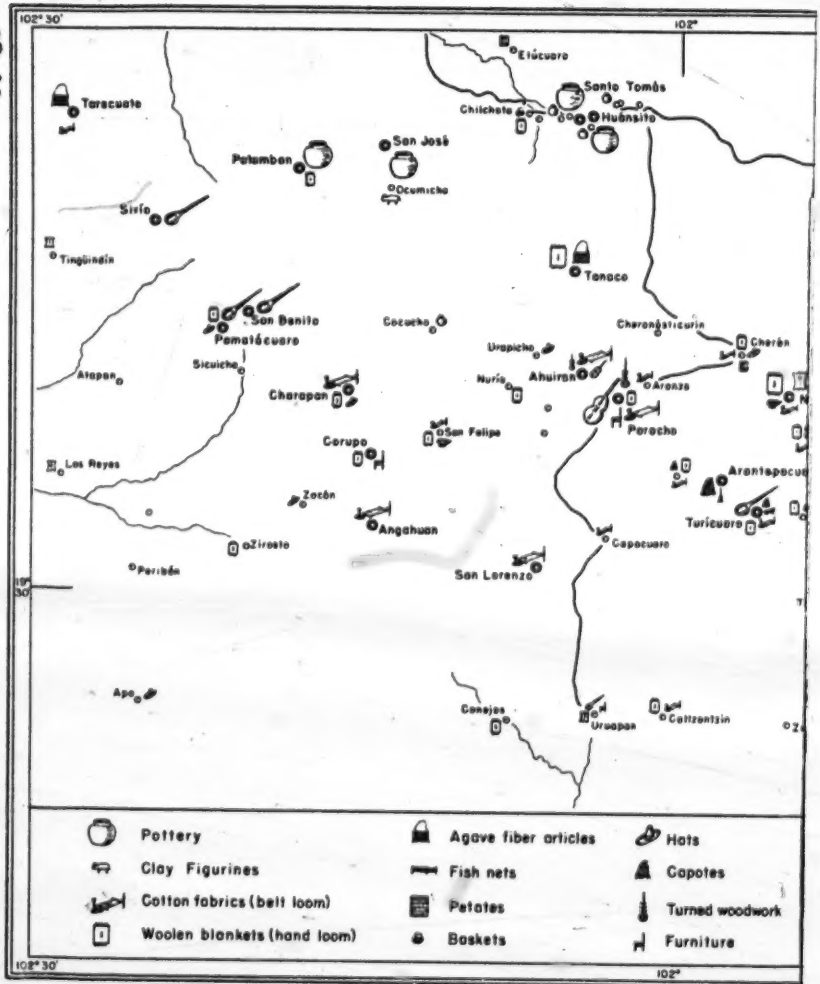
438 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest
463 times, have completely disappeared. The fine
178 Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924, pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground pith of maize stalks, from which various objects (mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then disappeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican kitchens,[138] and tile roofing is used extensively in

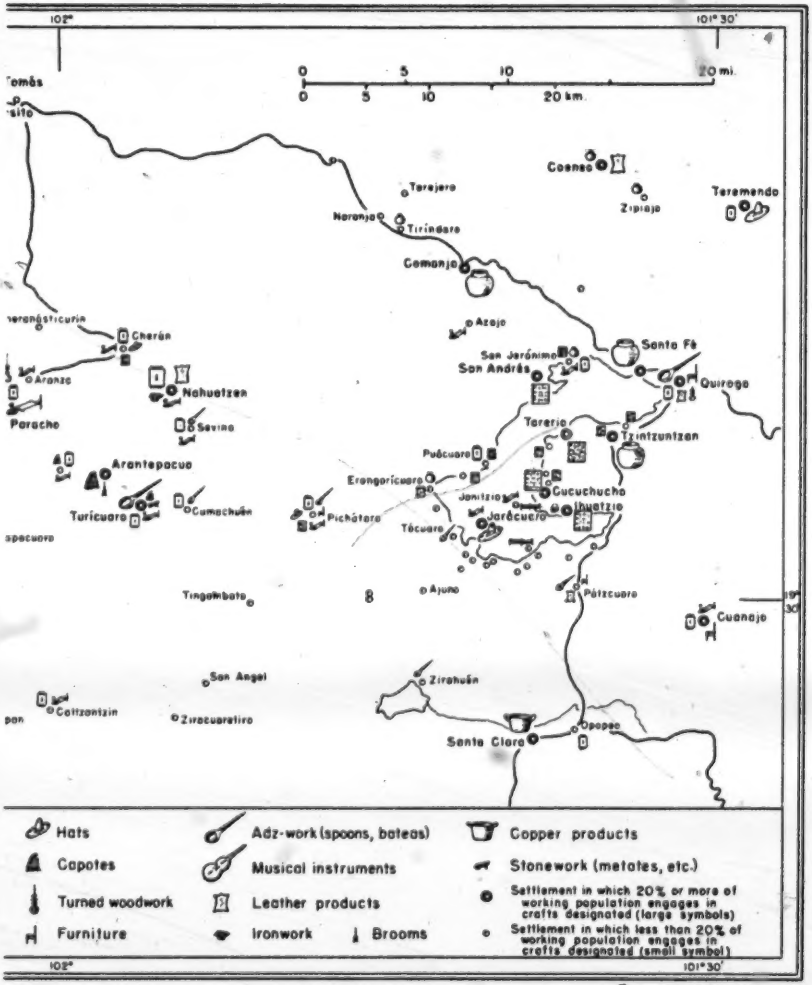
438
463



[Facing page 66; section A]

Map 20.—Distribution of handicrafts in the m

438
463



ion of handicrafts in the modern Tarascan area. [Facing page 66; section B]

748936 O - 48 (Face p. 66)

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sjerra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[Text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church.

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends